A N

Engliſh Freeholder's Addreſs,

TO HIS

COUNTRYMEN.

" With but half of our natural ſtrength, we are at war againſt confederate powers, who have ſingly threatened us with ruin. Whilſt we are left naked on one ſide, our other flank is uncovered by any alliance. We are accumulating debt to the amount of at leaſt fourteen millions in the year."

Mr. BURKE.

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An Engliſh Freeholder's Addreſs, &c.

My Friends and Countrymen.

THO' I almoſt deſpair of rendering you much ſervice, yet, what little I can do, is due to the public welfare.

We all ſee and deplore the diſtreſſes of our country, and have ſtill greater in proſpect. I need not recount to you the ſeveral articles that make up the difference of what we *have* been, and of what we *are*.

To apprehend clearly the cauſes of this difference, and to endeavour to remove them, when found, is of much greater conſequence to us.

The origin of our misfortunes hath been hitherto attributed to various cauſes; but we now ſeem in general to be clearly convinced, that they proceed from the *American War*.

To inquire into the juſtice or injuſtice of this fatal conteſt, is not my preſent purpoſe. Very ſenſible, and very upright perſons, ſtill differ much in their opinions, concerning this matter. But, however weighty, and important the conſideration of it was at the firſt commencement, *now* there ſeems only to be one conſideration left to us; how to get out of it, with the leaſt poſſible loſs and diſgrace.

Having been intimately acquainted for upwards of forty years, not with the concerns of this, or that province ſingly, but with them all, I ſoon perceived when the confuſion begun, that thoſe who took the part of AMERICA againſt Adminiſtration, and thoſe who ſupported the meaſures of Government againſt that Country, were almoſt total ſtrangers to AMERICA, to the Country, and to its Inhabitants: many, to ſuch a degree, as to be ignorant whence the people ſprung; what language they ſpoke; what religion they profeſſed; nay, of what complexion they were. This ignorance was almoſt univerſal, and the little of truth concerning them that was advanced, was mixed with ſo much falſehood and abſurdity, and theſe became ſo rivetted in the minds of each party, that all reaſoning was loſt upon them.

I can ſafely aver, that many of the officers who early went over on this unfortunate buſineſs, have come back as utterly uninformed, in reſpect to the moſt practical points, almoſt, as thoſe who remained here.

The knowledge of AMERICA was confined to the Merchants, and Traders chiefly. It was a country talked of, but no people, ſave thoſe immediately intereſted in its produce, knew any thing about it. From the debates upon the STAMP-ACT, ſome little information aroſe, but this was forgotten in a few years.

The Iſland of Virginia has been ſpoken of in a Court of Judicature by a *learned* pleader, and ſimilar inſtances of a general ignorance, a criminal one, of this vaſt region, pervaded the Country, the Univerſities, the Courts of Law, the Legiſlature in too general a manner, and even Adminiſtration itſelf.

I have dwelt on this topick perhaps longer than may ſeem neceſſary, but I think it is impoſſible to account for the madneſs and folly of our conduct, on any other principle, than either conſummate ignorance of the ſubject of contention, or judicial infatuation.

I do not lay this to the charge of one party more than the other; the generality on both ſides have taken up their notions precipitately; means of information were not immediately at hand; and they contented

tented themſelves with ſuch crude opinions as accident ſupplied them with. In ſuch a general out-line there were exceptions; but as theſe differed from the common fabrick of the day, they were neglected and deſpiſed.

If we conſider the ſpeeches made by ſuch, as we ought to conſider, the beſt informed at this time, a perſon acquainted with AMERICA, the People, their Temper, their Reſources, who views what they *have* done, what they *are* effecting, and what extent of country they inhabit, will ſee ſufficient reaſon to believe, that the generality in this country are in a great meaſure ignorant of what moſt eſſentially concerns them, to be fully and largely acquainted with.

It is with regret, that I am obliged to obſerve, that Adminiſtration is not ſo well informed, as they ought to be: not ſo much for the want of *means* of information as to a habit of receiving *none*, but from ſuch as they chooſe; moſt unfortunately for the public, I am afraid, that no information is palatable to thoſe who ought to be rightly informed, but ſuch as favours their inclinations. Three ſorts of people have diſcovered their inclinations, and from the deſtruction of the *Tea*, nay from the time of the *Stamp-Act*, have uniformly, and efficaciouſly ſupplied that very ſpecies of information, in abundance, which they found to be moſt acceptable.

Firſt, the *Engliſh* Commiſſaries of the *Stamp* duties, forced from their employments with diſgrace, they made a merit of deſcribing the *Americans*, as one man, averſe to Kingly Government. Their reports were heard with avidity; and in ſpite of that compromiſe, which took place on repealing the *Stamp-act*, that nothing of the kind ſhould be attempted, yet it was reſolved to obtain a pepper-corn, which if refuſed, puniſhment ſhould follow: it was unanimouſly aſſerted, that the infliction of it was no leſs neceſſary, than practicable.

When this pepper-corn was demanded in the *Tea* duty, to pay it, or not to pay it, became the queſtion in AMERICA. Different ſides were taken, and thoſe who inſiſted on complying, were forced to leave their country; many of them, perſons of note, of property,

and known at home, I mean in *England*, which an *American* always was accuſtomed to call *his home*. Theſe exiles were received with ſatisfaction; their accounts of the people fully believed; the hopes they offered became ſubſtantial; they were rewarded and provided for as well as the times would permit.

Unfortunately for this kingdom, I apprehend, we pay not leſs than 60,000 l. per annum for ſuch kind of intelligence, all tending to demonſtrate with one voice, that AMERICA is eaſily to be ſubdued; that more than half of the people wiſh to be under the dominion of *Great-Britain*; that the Congreſs is divided; and that a majority is ſoon to be expected on the ſide of *Great-Britain*. How often have we been aſſured, that *Waſhington*'s troops were uncloathed, unarmed, undiſciplined, and ſtarving? Yet, has he not baffled a ſucceſſion of the ableſt officers, and the beſt troops this country had to ſend? well appointed with every thing, What have they done? ſtayed till the officers were diſgraced, the army reduced; their ranks partly filled up with *American* recruits, and new regiments formed of them; the nation loaded with taxes, and a ſeries of evils, that I will not recount. Such is the effect of miſinformation.

To theſe deluded, vindictive, neceſſitous people, are joined another *Phalanx*; all thoſe who profit by the War. Who are they? I anſwer LEGION!

Partly perceiving the inclinations of their ſuperiors, but ſtrongly attached to their own intereſts, they join in the cry, and picking up the idle partial tales of the *Refugees*, retail them to the public as oracles, and give full ſanction to the profitable opinions of their ſuperiors.

Muſt we except the *Scotch* from aſſiſting in this pleaſing reverie? I wiſh not to perpetuate diſtinctions, nor to hold up to the public the part they have taken in forwarding this horrid buſineſs.

If they could regard an *Engliſhman* with the ſame partial regard as they do their own countrymen, in equal ſituations, they ſhould have my applauſe: they always have my diſintereſted regard; many of them are worthy of it.

What can withſtand the ſuggeſtions of all theſe? The *Refugees*, the *Contractors*, the *Military* when united, in ſaying theſe things which it is wiſhed might be believed? Take theſe matters into conſideration my countrymen, and then reflect on your condition? *

From my thorough knowledge of AMERICA, I ſcruple not to ſay, and I moſt firmly believe it, from this knowledge, that if *France* and *Spain* were leagued with you *againſt* AMERICA, you never would be able to ſubdue it. You might drive them into the interior parts of the country, the determined part of them: poſſeſs yourſelves of their Towns and Sea-ports; but a nation would exiſt in ſpite of all your united efforts, and make it a moot-point when you had effected this, whether the poſſeſſion of theſe places would be worth the expence of maintaining them; in my opinion they would not; and I think, I can give reaſons not eaſy to be refuted.

Should this opinion be tolerably well founded, What ſucceſs are we likely to expect when *France* and *Spain* take part with AMERICA againſt us? He muſt be an idiot of a very ſingular caſt, who is not able to ſee the conſequences. *Waſhington* alone with his forces, ſuch as they are, have prevented us from obtaining a ſingle province. *The Maſſachuſetts*, *Pennſylvania*, *Maryland*, and *Virginia*, (unleſs ſome frivolous, irritating, unavailing expedition, up the *Cheſapeak*, ſhould make this province an exception) enjoy all the ſweets of peace, except maintaining troops at a diſtance for their defence. To leſſen theſe difficulties, the principal part of the pay of the *Britiſh* troops, finds its way for neceſſaries into theſe provinces.

* *Dean Tucker* ſome where ſaith, that there are ſeven ſorts of people who clamour for war, and ſound the alarm for battle. 1. The Mock Patriot, whoſe breaſt beats high with the love of his country. 2. The hungry Pamphleteer, the Jackall of the Patriot lion. 3. That Monſter of Modern Times, the Broker and Gambler at *'Change-Alley*. 4. News-Writers, Political Fire-brands—this country is now as much news-ridden, as it was prieſt-ridden in the days of our forefathers. 5. Contractors, Commiſſaries, Paymaſters, &c. &c. who croak for war, to fatten on human blood. 6. Dealers in exports and imports, and Colony traders languiſh for war. 7. Land and Sea-officers are the invariable advocates for war.

When the confederates of AMERICA act with them in conjunction, vigorously, as there is every reason to suppose they will, because it is their obvious and most important interest to render *Great-Britain* and AMERICA separate Empires, then will *France* have her day of triumph over us. All *Europe* saw, that the two Empires united, were growing too mighty.

To think that *France* means to keep possession of any part of AMERICA, claimed by the Congress, argues a childish ignorance. They mean only to *divide* you. It would be as expensive, and as little advantageous to the *French*, or *Spaniards*, to keep possession of any of the Congress territories, as it would be to you. Bickerings, contentions, and wars, would destroy all the fruit of such possessions.

No wise *American* will submit to it: nor will they soon prefer a *Frenchman* to an *Englishman*. Their present union, is an union of sound policy: national friendship hath little share in it; by mutual good offices it may become such: and this will be effected the sooner in proportion to your inveteracy against them.

But what is your opinion, my Countrymen, of the confederacy formed around us, commonly styled, an *armed neutrality?* Of this I cannot speak with so much confidence, as I can of the affairs of AMERICA, because these I know: the other I can only guess at. But I will tell you my opinion: embrace it if it squares with your own. The *English* have long claimed the dominion of the sea; and not only claimed, but exercised it; and in war to a degree of insufferable tyranny. No nation however mortified, however affronted, durst oppose our pretensions: We obliged them to strike to us, searched, seized, and condemned their ships, by laws of our own construction. No nation durst seek redress by any other means than quietly submitting to our maritime code of laws.

When the powers of *Europe* saw us embroiled in the manner we are; our Colonies unsubdued by all our efforts; and joined by a powerful confederacy, they judged it a seasonable time to assert their rights,

rights, and to frame a code of maritime laws on the principles of free navigation, That the ſea is a common highway for all nations, bordering on it, and that no *one people* has a right to preſcribe or inſtitute a juriſdiction over another equally free, though not equally powerful with another. It would be a hard thing indeed, if every traveller of great force was allowed to compel another of leſs power to attend him at the next inn, to examine into the nature of his buſineſs.

Wearied with many grievous inſults, and indignities, and perceiving our embarraſſed ſituation, the powers of *Europe* ſeem determined to frame a ſet of laws by which they will uniformly abide, in peace and in war: and that if we refuſe to comply, they mean to employ this *armed neutrality* againſt us. Should this be the caſe, what muſt be the event? *That we muſt receive laws at ſea in future from thoſe to whom we have hitherto given them.* It may be very juſt, but it is certainly very humiliating, to a brave and high-ſpirited people, that hath been long in poſſeſſion of ſuch a ſovereignty. If we refuſe to comply with the regulations preſented to us, this *armed neutrality*, in conjunction with *France* and *Spain*, will in my opinion unite in compelling us.

To our *American War* to which we ſeem at beſt to be barely equal, is likely to be added the *armed force*, of all the maritime powers in *Europe*. If we can but barely ſupport ourſelves in the former, is there the leaſt chance for us to oppoſe the latter with ſucceſs?

There ſeems however to be another matter in contemplation with theſe *neutral powers*.

They know how much our power hath increaſed by our Commerce in general, with AMERICA in particular. Tobacco is a conſiderable article of traffic, and of revenue in moſt of the *European* ſtates: they wiſh to partake in this buſineſs, as well as in other articles of *American* trade: at a proper ſeaſon I imagine they will ſend the like meſſage to us, as *France* has done.

AMERICA, ſay they, has declared herſelf independent. *France* and *Spain* have acknowledged it: they enjoy the benefit of her commerce, and

and the ſubjects of theſe other ſtates petition for the ſame privileges, they grant theſe privileges, declare AMERICA independent, and tell you, if you moleſt them they will reſiſt. Are you able to contend with all the world?

Say that theſe are conjectures:—be it ſo; but they are conjectures worth attending to, and which only can be rendered ineffectual, by *a peace with America.*

Without a *peace* you are undone at home, and controlled by your neighbours. I omit the catalogue of diſtreſſes which have grown, and are ſtill increaſing from the *American War*, becauſe they are known, and felt by every ſenſible feeling perſon.

Where is the remedy? There is a ſhort one, tho' bitter to a few: *make peace with America*, before your ſucceſſes are balanced by misfortunes, and before general vengeance ſuperſedes the friendſhip yet ſubſiſting between nations of the ſame origin, language, religion, habits, and complexion: now is the time. But how is peace to be made? on what conditions? Grant *that* which you cannot keep, or if loſt, is, by all your force, irrecoverable,—*Independence:* ſooner or later this muſt be done; let the *Refugees* and others intereſted in deceiving you, proclaim the contrary never ſo loudly, I have converſed with many of them, as well as with others; there are many who are honeſt enough to acknowledge the truth: *that America is invincible.*

France will never allow the *Americans* to make peace with us, on any but the moſt humiliating terms, ſay the advocates for war. Thoſe who aſſert this, know very little of either *France* or *America*. Their league is, and is only, that, neither *France* nor *America* ſhall make peace with *Great-Britain*, till by them AMERICA is declared *independent*. This being effected a peace is negotiable.

Till then every attempt to a reconciliation is fruitleſs. It is the intereſt of *France*, of *Spain*, of all *Europe*, that this ſhould take effect: That *Great-Britain* and *America* ſhould be divided: and the war will be continued till this is effected.

Shall

Shall we then plunge ourſelves into greater, obvious, unavoidable embarraſſments, truſting ſolely to the chapter of accidents? and ſee ourſelves reduced to ſuch a ſtate of weakneſs as to receive laws, from powers that dreaded our frowns? or ſhall we, laying pride and vengeance aſide, like wiſe men, endeavour to make the beſt of a bad bargain, and try to extricate ourſelves from laſting diſgrace and poverty? Theſe are mortifying reflections, but the event will juſtify them. I ſpeak not from a ſpirit of prophecy, but from clear deductions, from cauſe to effect. It may be aſked what can *France* gain by all this expence, if ſhe ſeeks not for territorial poſſeſſions in AMERICA. Why, uncontrolled ſuperiority in *Europe*. Where is the power when AMERICA is divided from us, that can withſtand her?

Whilſt we had AMERICA, *France* knew, and all *Europe* felt, that every diſtant poſſeſſion they had, were ſo many obligations for their peaceable behaviour. They ſaw AMERICA growing ſo populous, and ſo powerful, her commerce increaſing, and increaſing the power of *Great-Britain*, that nothing was ſecure from us. By the people of *New England* only, *New Spain* would have been added to the *Britiſh Empire*, in a few years of war with the ſuccour of a *Britiſh* fleet; and *France* knew that their *Weſt-India Iſlands* were held by them, at our courteſy, ſhould a war break out. In the laſt war the *New Englanders* by ſuch aſſiſtance, gave us the *Havannah*,—and ſince that time they have been increaſing in numbers, and as it ſeems likewiſe, in military talents. What greater acquiſition can a nation obtain, than ſecurity from foreign force, and a power of retalliating injuries? All this every nation in *Europe* will obtain by our humiliation.

I own that it might ſeem a ſufficient inſtigation for us to continue the war, were there a fair probability of ſucceſs; of maintaining our authority over the revolted colonies, according to the maxims of our ſuperiors. But it is madneſs to attempt that, which we can have no foundation to hope, either from reaſon or experience is in our power to effect, and if we attempt it, and fail, we are undone.

If then, my Countrymen, we are perſuaded that our calamities originate from the *American War*, and if greater are ſtill in proſpect: If it is certain, that the ſucceſſes we have thereto gained, are not of equal conſequence: If the forces of our enemies increaſe, and our powers diminiſh: If we have not a friend to ſupport us, but all *Europe* looks upon us with coolneſs, and amazement, ſtanding on the verge of declared hoſtilities; ſhould we not join, as one man, in petitioning the throne for *peace* before we are compelled to do it, on ſtill harſher terms?

I truſt that I am not ſpeaking the language of faction, nor that I am actuated by a ſpirit of party. I love and honour my ſovereign, and my country, I wiſh we could have retained the *dependence* of AMERICA: But it is *gone!* Let us however recover her *friendſhip*; we ſhall recover our commerce with her, and her ſupport. Let us not loſe ſo precious a treaſure, and ſacrifice the remaining power of this nation, to folly, pride, and vengeance.

It would be groſs preſumption to expect, that you ſhould adopt opinions like theſe, from a nameleſs author, and unknown authority; I do not wiſh for it; thoſe who can believe one ſide without proof, will change their opinions, on a like uncertain, unknown authority. Be therefore upon your guard; compare what is here offered, with what you have heard, what you ſtill hear from both ſides; compare them with what you ſee, and feel, and if *this* repreſentation then merits your notice, act accordingly.

It has been ſaid that the *American War* is a *popular* war!—it was at its firſt commencement, and why? Becauſe the people were taught to believe two things, which as they favoured their purſes, and their pride, were moſt readily admitted.

They were taught that every ſhilling we could obtain from AMERICA, was a ſhilling gained to them; they were taught that the *Americans* were under every kind of obligation to this country, and had ungratefully refuſed to pay them this ſhilling.——*John Bull* needed no more to prompt him to declare war, not only againſt AMERICA, but if neceſſity

ceſſity ſo required, that is, if any other nation refuſed to comply with *John Bull*'s demands, they were ready to declare war againſt all and ſingular ſuch repugnant nations. We all know with what facility, with what fatal facility, the people of this country may be worked up to eſpouſe any cauſe that favours their arrogance, and their intereſt.

I imagine that the people in general are now fully convinced, that the *American War*, had better never have been begun,—and that it is now ſo far from being a *popular* one, that in ſpite of that ſecret pride which hinders us from owning our miſtakes, and in ſpite of that vengeance, we could wiſh to execute on thoſe who oppoſe our wiſhes, yet taught by dear experience, they wiſh to have an end put to the difficulties, and loſſes that the *American War* produces.

They have been taught likewiſe to ſee, that they have been groſsly impoſed upon, and that the *Americans* are men as well as themſelves, capable of feeling oppreſſion, and reſiſting wrongs; and that there ſeems no favourable iſſue, to the preſent contention.

To all theſe misfortunes, What is the remedy? *Peace with America.* Is this become the popular cry? I believe it is: and could this be proved, I cannot imagine, that the Court, or the Senate would purſue a meaſure, become unpopular, unavailing to the end propoſed, involving us in the greateſt dangers, and entailing ruin on our poſterity.

Was I to preſume for a moment to look up above my humble ſphere, and figure to myſelf a ſovereign, powerful and revered, ſtanding on a precipice, and urged to its verge by miſtaken councils, and miſinformation; ought I not to be deemed a Traitor, if I withheld information of his danger, and ceaſed to prompt him to conſider his ſafety? That if he either receives wrong information, or miſuſes his judgement, it would be the moſt terrible of all earthly misfortunes to himſelf, his family, and his people.

Should a perſon ſtrongly prejudiced in favour of the *American War*, (allow me here to lament the ignorance of a *Miniſter*, who not long ſince publicly declared, that *half* of the people in AMERICA wiſhed to become ſubjects of *Great-Britain*; as a greater, and more palpable miſtake:

miſtake cannot eaſily be uttered) I ſay, ſhould a perſon ſo prejudiced, deny the poſitions I have laid down, What muſt be done to convict him of his miſtake? Produce the ſtrongeſt evidence of their truth, the caſe admits of, a ſingle perſon can make but little progreſs in a work like this: it is a *national concern*; and the public mind cannot be better occupied than in ſuch an enquiry.

I am told, and I have ſome reaſon to believe it, that very few of thoſe officers, or others who have been in AMERICA, are cloſeted, till it is known whether the language they intend to ſpeak, ſavours more of war or peace: if they repreſent the war, as ruinous and ineffectual to the end propoſed, *ſubjugation*, no farther notice is taken of them, from that moment.

But this is not all, pains are taken without doors to diſcredit their reports; that intereſt, diſappointment, imprudent conduct, influence all they ſay, and therefore they are diſbelieved. Falſehood gains the firmer footing, and a devoted people is deprived of all proper evidence.

Aſſociations, in many places have been entered into, *Petitions* preferred, and other legal and pacific means uſed, with a view of reſcuing us from impending ruin, but what hath been the conſequence? A general defeat.

It is urged, that we *aſked* for too much, and therefore obtained nothing. Be this as it may, no good citizen will ever be diſcouraged from making further movements towards obtaining a temperate and conſtitutional reform.

To ſet on foot a diſpaſſionate, general enquiry, *County by County*, into the effects which this war has had upon them ſeverally, whether for the better or the worſe, would ſeem to be neither an impracticable, offenſive, nor an uſeleſs ſcheme. It would collect into one point, the *feelings* of the people; it would be no difficult matter, then to gueſs at their *opinions*—And the knowledge of the public mind, thus concentered, would undoubtedly produce juſt and cogent reaſons, for continuing or diſcontinuing the *American War*; and it ought not to be ſuppoſed,

ſuppoſed, that our ſuperiors, when they ſee the ſentiments of the people at large, will have any other mind, than a right one.

Would it therefore be an improper meaſure to prevail upon the preſent *Aſſociations*, and others to be appointed in Counties, where there are none, to obtain the beſt account they can of the preſent ſtate of affairs amongſt them, in reſpect to the value of lands, the ſtate of manufactures, where there are any: the progreſs in public works for profit, or pleaſure: the ſtate of the poor's rate, and ſuch other indubitable evidence of the preſent condition of this country, as it may be in their power to collect. I confeſs that this may be a difficult undertaking, yet if accompliſhed, could not fail of carrying with it conviction to the moſt determined breaſt.

For it cannot be ſuppoſed that any man, or any ſet of men in power, ſhall from mere obſtinacy, and caprice, perſevere in effecting the ruin of a country over which they preſide.

It would make a neceſſary part of theſe enquiries, to obtain likewiſe, as far as poſſible, not partial fragments of the preſent ſtate of *North America*, the ſtate of our armies in it; the power of their opponents; the expence we are at, and the comparative of theirs. Hitherto the *Americans* have had very great difficulties in ſupporting public credit, and obtaining a value for their currency. I am informed that both are put upon a better footing now, than they have been. The pay we ſend over for the ſupport of our troops, in a great degree finds its way into the hands of the *Americans*. They are induced at great riſks to ſupply us with freſh proviſions, and other neceſſary articles, and receive in return exorbitant profits. Two ſhillings ſterling has often been paid, I am informed, at *New-York* for a Cabbage. The *Americans* will be in no haſte to terminate a War, which affords ſuch gains to their country. It is ſuppoſed there are near *Three Millions ſterling*, now in the Continental ſervice.

The great depreciation of their currency is amended in one opulent province, by a ſubſcription of a great number of perſons of known property, to receive the paper currency at its full value; and

if this is followed by the other ſtates, this currency will be as valuable as our bank notes. Had not a number of Gentlemen united in the year 1745, to give theſe notes a ſanction, we might have felt all the depreciating conſequences of unſtable credit, that has hindered the *Americans* from doing any thing effectually.

Proper enquiries will bring many things of this nature to light, and enable us to determine, with preciſion, the chance we have of ſubduing them.

Two enquiries ſeem therefore worth attending to, in order to carry unequivocal, and intereſting information to our ſuperiors. 1ſt. The ſtate of things at home. 2d. The ſtate of affairs abroad; in which may be included, notices of the ſtates about us.

It is not impoſſible to obtain accounts that may be relied on, by private perſons, of their views and intentions. In a word, to get juſt intelligence, and to convey this intelligence with proper vouchers, to thoſe whom it concerns, ſeems to be the moſt likely means of bringing us all into one mind, which is the abſolute neceſſity of *making peace with America.*

There has lately ariſen a new and very cogent reaſon, exceedingly weighty with every humane, every chriſtian mind, to effect, if poſſible, this important purpoſe. Hitherto the war in AMERICA has in general been carried on with a degree of temper, and moderation, ſeldom known in civil wars, of which this is a certain, but ſingular ſpecies.

Both the parties engaged in the execution of the orders of the States they ſerved, did their duty with reluctance; they *felt* as Brethren, though they were commanded to have no ſuch feelings.

Still however the generality hoped that a time *might* come, when they might once more ſhake hands as friends, if not as brethren.—Sudden provocations, beget as ſudden, and as violent retalliations.—Conſidering the length of the war, and other circumſtances, theſe inſtances have been comparatively few. The troops on both ſides performed their duty coolly, and with the feelings of humanity.

The

The late executions, firſt at *Charles-Town*, by Lord *Cornwallis*, the retalliations by Congreſs, and the late one in the *American* Camp, have enraged the *Americans* on one ſide, the *Britiſh* army on the other, and victory by fair, and honourable means will be no longer the object; but all the horrors of Revenge! Nothing will eſcape the fury of the ſword on either ſide! right, and wrong will ceaſe to be the views of either; nothing but fiery indignation!

Can the people of *England*, famed for humanity, look calmly on ſuch a ſcene? If they can, Where is their boaſted humanity? Where is their pretence to a reformed Religion? Alas for my country, if ſuch is their inſenſibility, barbariſm, and impiety!

That thoſe who have led us into this unnatural and inhuman conteſt, ſhould have no concern, no compunction, I ſhould not wonder. Had they ſeen, or felt the calamities of war, they would aſſuredly have prevented them. From them we can expect no mitigation of human miſeries!

It is the piety, the compaſſion of the public, that muſt interfere to prevent theſe dreadful calamities, and ſtop the further effuſion of blood. For your own ſakes therefore, and for theirs, uſe every effort to open the eyes of thoſe who direct this dreadful ſtorm, to foreſee its conſequences.

As I am perſuaded, that the want of proper and juſt information is one great cauſe of our preſent fatal controverſy with AMERICA: Want of information, what AMERICA is, and is *capable* of: Want of information to what *extent* we ſuffer on this account, procure it for them; force the evidence of truth upon them; not by clamour and acrimonious invectives, provocations which neither ſide would bear in ſimilar ſituations, but with calm, diſpaſſionate, irrefragable proof.

If you think that the *Americans* only will ſuffer in this revengeful conflict, you are certainly miſtaken, numbers of them may fall, but your ſons, brothers, relations, muſt likewiſe become victims to rage, and fury in ſome proportion!

To deſcend to a view of our ſituation in the different parts of the globe, would lead me from the point, I wiſh to keep always in view, the abſolute neceſſity of *peace with America, on any terms.* We are yet an unbroken Empire in every part of the globe, but AMERICA; therefore when peace becomes the object with the contending ſtates, the *uti poſſidetis* is in a narrow compaſs.

Hitherto we have taken nothing from *Spain*, nor they from us, I mean of territory, except in a point of *Florida*. The *French* have got from us two Iſlands which we can ſpare.

But ſuppoſe the *Spaniards* ſhould make themſelves maſters of *Gibraltar*, and if they are ſuperior at ſea, which is far from impoſſible, this may happen, what is to become of our influence in the *Mediteranean?*

While the ſtates of *Barbary* ſee us in poſſeſſion of this Fortreſs, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of *Spain*, they acknowledge us ſuperior to *Spain*, and are afraid of our power. They treat the *Britiſh* ſubjects with ſome degree of reſpect; and I believe, there are few, if any *Britiſh* ſubjects now in ſlavery.

But was this the caſe before we were in poſſeſſion of *Gibraltar?* By no means. I have documents before me of large ſums annually employed in redeeming *Engliſhmen* from the horrid cruelties of *Turkiſh* ſlavery. When they ſaw us in poſſeſſion of this Fortreſs, and able to maintain it, they juſtly concluded that a nation, which could do ſo *much*, could do *more*; and therefore treated us with reſpect: with them we ſtand foremoſt of all maritime powers. The moment we loſe the poſſeſſion of *Gibraltar*, that nation which obtains it, becomes the object of their fear, and the others ceaſe in proportion to have any weight with them.

It is of the utmoſt conſequence to *Spain*, that ſhe ſhould obtain this important Fortreſs; and it is a convincing proof, of her aſſurance, that the preſent war muſt inevitably ſecure her in the poſſeſſion of this, and many other advantages, if ſhe could forego the offers of peace, if ſuch a bribe was propoſed to her.

I own

I own that I am ſollicitous for peace, and I hope not leſs ſo, for the honour of my Country: to the beſt of my knowledge I have endeavoured to perform my part towards conveying all the juſt, and impartial information, that came within my reach: being firmly perſuaded that a diligent, and prudent enquiry into theſe ſubjects, abſolutely neceſſary at this time, will confirm the ideas here thrown before you. And that they may contribute to inſpire your minds with a reſolution to act the part of *Engliſhmen*, and *Chriſtians*, is the warmeſt wiſh of my heart.

I am, my Countrymen,

Your faithful Friend,

An ENGLISH FREEHOLDER.

P. S. "May Almighty God (ſay the Archbiſhop, Biſhops, and Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury*) who for our ſins hath permitted your Majeſty to be involved in a *War juſt indeed and neceſſary*, &c." Juſt! pray who were the aggreſſors? Did the *Americans* refuſe to comply with any former requiſitions? Did they ſet up any new demands, or claim any new exemptions? No ſuch thing. Did not we exact compliances from them they never had been accuſtomed to, and if complied with, opened a moſt fruitful ſource of endleſs exactions? Could it be *juſt* to proceed by violence to compel the *Americans*, where neither former uſage, nor right, nor preſcription, nor analogy, entitled us to make ſuch demands? Is it poſſible that a War of this

kind can be *juſt?* and eſpecially when the parties attacked, ſubmiſſively entreated a conference, and the petition was diſdainfully rejected?

If the war was *unjuſt*, it cannot be *neceſſary*: ſuppoſing it *juſt*, if the country againſt which it was directed, were diſpoſed to *treat*, it could not be *neceſſary*, till this method proved ineffectual.

Prompted by pride, and paſſion, we ſhut our ears, as well as our hearts, againſt the claims of juſtice and humanity!

Does it become the Convocation under ſuch circumſtances to *ſanctify* the war! to declare it *juſt* and *neceſſary*, and in the moment of addreſſing Sovereign wiſdom and goodneſs, whoſe awful proclamation, is, *peace on earth, and good will to all men.*

But the theme is too copious, and too ſolemn, and I would rather wiſh to conciliate the minds of mankind one to another, not of kindred nations only, but of all the children of our common Father!

THE END.